1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

XIV.—LANGUAGE.

I.—ALPHABET—PRONUNCIATION.

THE alphabetical character of the Tibetans is the Devanágari that was current in India in the seventh century. It was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir by Thumi Sambhota.* The alphabet is called *Ka-ga* (or A B C), because *k* and *g* are the first letters. There are thirty consonants, arranged in eight classes, as follows :—

1.	ka	...	kha	...	ga	...	nga
2.	cha	...	chha	...	ja	...	nya
3.	ta	...	tha	...	da	...	na
4.	pa	...	pha	...	ba	...	ma
5.	tsa	...	tsha	...	dsa	...	wa
6.	zha	...	za	...	ha	...	ya
7.	ra	...	la	...	sha	...	sa
8.	'ha'	...	á				

The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th, correspond with the arrangement of the Nágari alphabet, excepting only in the omission of the second set of aspirates, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, and *bh*. The hissing palatals of the 5th and 6th classes are almost peculiar to the Tibetan language. The *tsa* and *dsa* are, however, in constant use by the Kashmiris.

The vowels are five, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, which are pronounced as in Italian. The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, excepting the few silent prefixes. The other vowels

* Csoma's Grammar, p. 178.

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194 are formed by marks placed either above or below the consonants.

212 The Tibetan language is written syllabically, the different syllables being separated by a small wedge-like point, called *Tsheg*, thus ·. The sentences also are divided by signs or marks of punctuation, called *Shad*. Thus, one mark, ।, is equivalent to a comma; a double mark, ॥, to a colon; and four marks ॥ ॥ to a full stop. The semicolon is formed by joining the intersyllabic point *Tsheg* to the single punctuation mark *Shad*, from which it receives its name of *Tsheg-Shad*. It is formed thus ·।, and is almost the same as our own semicolon.*

197 Of the Tibetan language I am not confident to speak; but, as far as my knowledge of it enables me to offer an opinion, I should say that it has no affinity with any of the surrounding dialects. A few words are of course the same as in Sanscrit; such as *khar*, a fort (Sanscrit, *garh*). But for every word similar to Sanscrit I think that I could point out one similar to English; thus, *brang* means to bring; *kyan* is a "can;" *thwore* is "to-morrow;" *skyur* is "sour;" *dal* means "dull;" *tuk* is "thick;" *bal* is "wool;" *lhunpo* is a "lump;" *tsem* is a "seam;" *dir* is "here;" and *der* is "there;" *tar* is "tired;" *rog* is a "rogue" (the crow being called *charog*, or the "bird-rogue"); *yahba* is a "yawn;" and *ikhug* is a "hiccough." The last two are, however, 212 imitative sounds. But there is another resemblance between English and Tibetan, which is of a totally different kind. This is the difficulty of ascertaining how to pronounce a word from its spelling. A foreigner is

* The marks of punctuation are called *rKyang-shad*, the comma; *gZhis-shad*, the colon; *bZhi-shad*, the full stop; and *Tsheg-shad*, the semicolon.

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A language map of West Tibet with notes.—By A. H. FRANCKE.

(With Plate vii.)

197 194 For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect:—

(1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
(2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
(3) by, py, phy.
(4) br, pr, phr.
(5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following:—

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ); sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = gh or h (like Urdu خ or غ); sp or rp = f.
(3) by = j; py = c; phy = ch.
(4) br = dr; pr = tr; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = غم; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = hampo; cospin = cofin.
(3) bya = ja; phyogs = chogs.
(4) brag = drag; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ); sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = sk or rk; sp or rp = sp or rp.
(3) by = j; py = c; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, p, and ph retain their original sound.

(4) br = dr; pr = tr; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

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Examples.

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(1) sgam=ཁམ; sbaste=vaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospin.
(3) bya=ja; phyogs=chogs; but byema=bema; phye=phe; phyila=phila.
(4) brag=drag; phrugu=thrugu.
(5) grangmo=drangmo; khrims=thrims.

III. Sham-dialect:

(1) rg or sg=rg or sg; rb or sb=rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk=rk or sk; rp or sp=rp or sp.
(3) by=by; py=py; phy=phy.
(4) br=br, pr=pr; phr=phr.
(5) gr=dr; kr=tr; khr=thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=sgam; sbaste=sbaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospin.
(3) bya=bya; phyogs=phyogs.
(4) brag=brag; phrugu=phrugu.
(5) grangmo=drangmo; khrims=thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects:

(1) rg or sg=rg or sg; rb or sb=rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk=rk or sk; rp or sp=rp or sp.
(3) by=by; py=py; phy=phy.
(4) br=br; pr=pr; phr=phr.
(5) gr=gr; kr=kr; khr=khr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=sgam; sbaste=sbaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospain (or byaspain).
(3) bya=bya; phyogs=phyogs.
(4) brag=brag; phrugu=phrugu.
(5) grangmo=grangmo; khrims=khrims.

Note: Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

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197 In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type
194 No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174 *The Dard question of West-Tibet.* Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614 (2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis beamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa aNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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Dard AV3

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to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spun*ships. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

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Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

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From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism.

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival.

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the

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Ladak

595 115 591 888 Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

888 591 As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

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Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

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She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the